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No. 56

The Ānanda Temple at Pagan.

BY
CHAS. DUROISELLE, M.A.,
Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma Circle.

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PREFACE.

THIS Memoir is one of the series of monographs on the Ānanda Temple at Pagan whose iconographic and epigraphic treasures are so numerous that they could not be treated adequately in a single monograph. The present Memoir deals with the architectural details and other features noticeable in the temple which have not been already adequately dealt with elsewhere; and a few important facts regarding the life of its founder, King Kyanzitthā (1084—1112 A.D.), and some events connected with the temple itself are added by way of introduction.

I am glad of the opportunity afforded here of acknowledging the assistance rendered by U Mya, my former assistant and successor now retired, in writing this Memoir; his views on certain points have been incorporated in the following pages.

CHAS. DUROISELLE,

Superintendent,

Archæological Survey, Burma.

MAYMYO;

29th May 1937.

THE ĀNANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN.

INTRODUCTION.

The Ānanda, a most important monument in Burma ; its architectural, sculptural and epigraphical aspects.

The Ānanda temple at Pagan has long been held the most interesting monument in Burma, and is famed all over the land as one of its national glories. Apart from its outstanding religious importance, it is a unique store-house of stone sculptures and terra-cotta bas-reliefs of the late mediæval period. The short legends in Old Môn impressed on the plaques which adorn its basement and upper terraces, are of great epigraphical and philological value, and, above all, its architecture is of exceptional interest. The sculptures and the plaques I have already dealt with separately in two papers : "The Stone Sculptures in the Ānanda Temple at Pagan ",[1] and "The Talaing plaques on the Ānanda ".[2]

Kyanzitthā, its founder.

The purpose of the present memoir is to give a complete survey of the temple from the architectural point of view. But, before we enter into details, it may be of some interest to add here, by way of introduction, a few important facts regarding the life of its royal founder, who is commonly known as Kyanzitthā (spelt Kyan-cac-sā), and some events connected with the temple itself.

Legendary account of Kyanzitthā's birth ; his names and titles.

There is a popular legend attached to the name Kyan-zit-thā or Kyan-yit-thā with another variant Kalan-zit-thā, which is found in almost every publication in Burmese containing an account of his life.[3] According to it, Kyanzitthā was born of a Vesāli princess,[4] a discarded queen of King Anoratha, at Pareinma, now a village in the Sagaing District, on the banks of the Chindwin river. It having been foretold that a child would be born who would become king, Anoratha became anxious and three times had a search made throughout his kingdom

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[1] *Archæological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1913-14, pp. 63-97.

[2] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. II, Parts I and II.

[3] Burmese publications containing accounts of the life of Kyanzitthā are many. Mention may be made here only of the "Hmannan Mahayazawindawgyi ", pp. 262-265, and "Maung Kala's Mahayazawindawgyi ", Vol. I, pp. 176-179. Burma Research Society, Publication Series No. 5. See also the "Glass Palace Chronicle ", Pe Maung Tin and Luce's Translation of the "Hmannan Mahayazawindawgyi ", pp. 67-69.

[4] For an interesting controversy on the lineage of this princess and the identification of Wethāli (Vesāli) see para. 40 at pages 13-16 of the Report of the *Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma*, for the year ending 31st March 1918. But it may be mentioned here that the identification of Vesāli has not yet been settled satisfactorily. Some take it to be Vesāli in Arakan and others Vesāli in India.

See also the note under "Vesāli in the Indian land " in G. E. Harvey's "History of Burma ", p. 316.

for young children, whom he put to death in order to eliminate his future rival, but on each occasion Kyanzitthā somehow escaped death. When he became a monk in the customary way, it was again foretold that the future king had entered the Buddhist Order, and on the advice of his astrologers, the monarch invited to his palace the young monks in his kingdom and distributed food to them. Kyanzitthā was among them; and one day, as the king gave him water to drink, a certain sign appeared in his mouth; the king, seized with astonishment, let the vessel fall from his hand; thus was recognized the monk he was in search of. But again, on being asked whether Kyanzitthā would deprive the king of his throne, the astrologers answered that he would become king only long after Anoratha's death. The king then relented, and as he was his own son, took pity on him, made him enter his service, and named him Kyanzitthā or Kyanyitthā, which names mean, the first "he who survived the search", and the second, "he who was left over", that is, escaped the massacres. He is also known as Htilaing (Dhilaing) *shin* or Htilaing (Dhilaing) *Min* (Chief or Lord of Htilaing). Htilaing is a place-name; a village is still so called in the Myingyan District. The name Kyan-zit-thā (Kyan-cac-sā) has a close connection, phonetically, with Kalan-cac-sā. The, I think, earliest notice we have of him under an ordinary name or title is as Htilaing min (Htiluiṅ Maṅ), which is found in a Burmese inscription dated 1107 A.D. In another Burmese inscription, which on palæographical and other grounds may be placed towards the later part of the 14th century A.D.,[1] he is styled as Htilaing-ashin-kalan-zitthā. The word "Kalan" is distinctly used in old inscriptions, Môn as well as Burmese, with the meanings of "minister", "officer", or "governor". Sit-thā (pronounced zit-thā) means "soldier, warrior". Thus the name Kalan-zit-thā, may simply mean a "minister-warrior".[2] Burmese chronicles all fully bear out the fact that Kyanzitthā was a minister as well as a warrior of King Anoratha (1044-1077 A.D.), and of Sawlu (1077-1084). He was evidently also the governor of a district before he became king. Having been born at Pareinma, he was also known as Pareinmasitthā. Other details concerning the life of Kyanzitthā have been discussed by me and Blagden and they need not be repeated here.

In his own inscriptions, composed in Môn (he seems to have preferred this language to his own, at least for lithic records), he is known as: Śrī Tribhuvanā-dityadhammarājā or Śrī Tribhuvanāditya-dhammarājarājādhirāja-Paramisvara-balacakkrāvar.[3] He professed at first the faith of the Arī, a medley of Nāga worship, native superstitions and Mahāyānism of the Vajrayāna School,[4] but became, with his father and his people, a firm adherent to the Theravāda Buddhism imported

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[1] "Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya", pp. 19-20.

[2] The modern form of the name "Kyan-zit-thā or Kyan-yit-thā" for "Kalan-zit-thā" is merely a popular etymology to fit the legend or tradition according to which he escaped the three massacres, and he alone of all these children had been "left over"; *klan* is an old form for the modern word kyan = "to be left over", thus giving Klan-zit-thā (he who was left over, or escaped the search); Kalan-zit-thā = the minister-warrior as explained above. The word *kalan* (minister, governor) is still used in modern literary Burmese, but is becoming obsolete.

[3] "Epigraphia Birmanica", Vol. I, Part II, and Vol. III, Part I; for the longer style see Vol. I, Part II, p. 142 and f. n. 14.

[4] *Vide* "The Arī of Burma and Tantric Buddhism" by Chas. Duroiselle, published in the Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, Part II, for 1915-16, pp. 79-93.

from Thaton after its conquest in 1056-57 A.D. He boasted that during his reign "all those in his realm who were heretical became orthodox". He ascended the throne in 1084-85, probably at a fairly advanced age, and ruled for 28 years.

No contemporary epigraph regarding the foundation of the Ānanda.

He built a palace and, during its erection, resided "in a pavilion that was like unto Vejayantā". According to the "Glass Palace Chronicle", he worshipped the spirits when he ascended the throne; he dug tanks, repaired old monuments, and did many other meritorious works; but, curiously enough, no mention is made in any of his lithic records regarding the foundation of the Ānanda temple, and this is surprising, considering it is the most beautiful temple in Pagan, and the king's fondness for recording events on stone.

In my paper on "The Stone Sculptures in the Ānanda Temple at Pagan", I gave a short historical account of the Ānanda based on Mr. Blagden's rendering of the Môn Inscription No. IX. But a later study of this inscription by the same scholar has, however, revealed the fact that it is not concerned with the construction and dedication of a temple, but the very elaborate ceremonial connected with the building of the king's palace at Pagan.[1] Of this palace, no traces now remain; this is due to the fact that all secular monuments were built of wood, as may still be seen in the Mandalay Palace. Yet, although no contemporary mention of this temple has up to the present come to light, tradition has, through the centuries, persisted in attributing its foundation to Kyanzitthā, and every available record affirms the same. In the circumstances it is reasonable to assume that the inscription—if really there was any—recording the building of the Ānanda, has crumbled to pieces or otherwise disappeared. In the compound of the Museum at Pagan there are some large pieces of stone, which are parts of one or two inscriptions, and which, according to some elders, were brought there many years ago from somewhere in the vicinity of the Ānanda; on these fragments—there were more of them some twenty-five years ago—may still be faintly seen some letters here and there; the rest have disappeared; as far as can be judged the language was Môn. These perhaps constitute the lost record.

The date of the foundation of the Ānanda, and examination of epigraphical and sculptural data bearing on this question.

The date generally assigned for the foundation of the temple is 1090 A.D. This is a traditional date, but evidences are not lacking to show that, if it is not rigorously exact, it errs only by a few years on either side. A comparison of the characters of the inscriptions existing on the terra-cotta plaques discovered on the basement and terraces of the temple with those belonging to Kyanzitthā's time (1084-1112 A.D.) leaves no doubt as to the period of the foundation of the temple as above mentioned. There were brought to light two stone sculptures in the Ānanda which may be identified with King Kyanzitthā and his preceptor Shin Arahan (Plate VII, figs. 3 and 4).

[1] "Epigraphia Birmanica", Vol. III, Part I.

Legendary accounts of the building of the Ānanda.

According to legendary accounts, the site on which the Ānanda was to be built was pointed out to Kyanzitthā by Indra. The foundations were 60 cubits deep and were strengthened by layers of stones 30 feet in depth. Those stones, on the orders of Indra, were brought over by sea by 4,000 *yakṣas* ; the water for mixing the mortar was obtained from a river encircling Mount Meru, and the earth for use as mortar from the Gandhamādana hill and the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā. The sculptors came from the Nara hill. Four hundred architects and forty thousand workmen were employed in building the temple, and there were forty *arhats*, the four *Lokapālas* and *Viśvakarma* supervising it. The underground relic chambers contained, it is said, images of gods and men and scenes illustrating the life of the Buddha, all in pure gold, besides corporeal relics of the Buddha himself. This wonderful legend at least shews us the reverence, awe and admiration which this really magnificent monument inspired in the people.

A search for the prototype of the Ānanda.

Anoratha is credited to have proscribed the Arī cult and to have introduced in its stead the Hīnayāna then prevalent at Thaton ; and it is stated that, therefore, Buddhist temples existing before his time (1044-1077 A.D.) were only five in number.[1] They were all built by Taungthugyi (931-964 A.D.) under Arī influence, on the model of those that were to be found in Thaton and in Prome ;[2] but, in the total absence of any record whatsoever concerning those temples, it has not yet been, and most probably it will never be ascertained, with any degree of certainty, which they are—if still extant.[3] It may be said with confidence that the art of building temples, at least large and elaborate ones, was not known at Pagan before the XIth century, or a few years earlier. For the fact remains that there has as yet never been discovered any antiquity at Pagan that can safely be assigned to a date earlier than the XIth century A.D. But when we come to Anoratha's time, that is the middle of the XIth century, we meet with terra-cotta votive tablets bearing his name or that of others connected with his court. These tablets are among the oldest objects that have so far been discovered at Pagan, and are, at the same time, the most perfect examples of their kind. The clear outlines of the figures impressed on them, their sharp features and the bold type of Nāgarī characters of the late Pāla period in the short legends that may be noticed on some of them make them easily distinguishable from those alike of the later period. They contain images of the Buddha with or without attendants or scenes illustrating events in his life. Some of them shew certain types of temples perhaps already existing or said to have

[1] The Burmese history called *Hmannan rājavan*, that is "The Glass Palace Chronicle", Vol. I. *Vide* also "Arī of Burma", *op. cit.*

[2] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce's "The Glass Palace Chronicle", pp. 59-60.

[3] There may, however, have been a few more, when it is considered that, from the IXth century and perhaps a little earlier, there were some immigrants, apparently Vajrayānists, from Bengal at Pagan. Such temples, if any, cannot have been numerous ; they may perhaps have to be looked for a few miles to the south and south-east of the city of Pagan.

been existing at Pagan or elsewhere. Temples with *śikharas* with bulging or straight sides may be noticed on many of these tablets. These *śikharas* rest, in the case of some, on circular terraces, while, in the case of others, they rest on square terraces, rising in receding tiers. The basement has invariably a porch in the form of a niche with a foliated arch supported by pillars, and the principal figure, Buddha, sits enshrined in it on a throne. A stūpa generally forms the crowning feature of the *śikhara* (Plate I, figs. 1-4). The basement with a porch on each side, square terraces in receding tiers, *śikhara* with bulging sides and its crowning feature, the stūpa, are noticeable in the Ānanda. These tablets, therefore, shew that there were previously, either at Pagan or elsewhere, temples resembling the Ānanda.

Manuhā, the last king of Thaton, who was brought over to Pagan as a prisoner of war, and was allowed to live in the village of Myinpagan in semi-regal state, erected in that village a temple known as the Nanpaya. It was built of brick faced with stone. It consists of a square basement surmounted by a *śikhara* of Indo-Aryan type, and preceded by a porch with a vaulted roof (Plate II, fig. 1). Some of the finest stone sculptures in Pagan are found in it. The *makara toraṇas* over its windows, and the figures of Brahmā carved in low relief on the pillars inside display work of a certain merit.[1] Another temple, the Patothamya, also consists of a porch and square basement with a vessel-shaped structure as a crowning feature, supported by receding terraces, which may represent a *Kalasa*, and surmounted by circular mouldings tapering to the top. Thus, the Nanpaya temple, built by Manuhā, and the Patothamya temple afford resemblance to the Ānanda in plan; and they certainly antedate it.

Again, excavations conducted at Old Prome brought to light during the last few years a stone sculpture, in fragments (Plate II, fig. 2) and a terra-cotta votive tablet (Plate II, fig. 3) with distinct traces on them of temples in miniature resembling the Ānanda in certain respects. The latter shows a temple with a large vestibule ornamented with a foliated arch supported by pillars. At the back of the vestibule and above it are discernible three terraces in receding tiers with curvilinear roofs. Above is a *śikhara* with bulging sides crowned by a stūpa. All or most of these features are met with in the Ānanda. The *śikhara* on the stone sculpture has straight sides. The terra-cotta tablet is fairly distinct in style and may be placed in a class by itself; the stone sculpture is altogether foreign to Pagan; and both may be assigned, on stylistic grounds, to a date at least about a century or so earlier than the Ānanda. The stone sculpture may be older than the tablet.[2] On the other hand, temples in miniature of nearly the same type may also be noticed in Bengal as depicted on a stone sculpture shown as fig. 229, Plate LXXI, in Ananda Coomaraswamy's "History of Indian and Indonesian Art", and on another shown as fig. *a*, Plate XXIX, in "the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India", 1921-22. It may be stated that there were at Pagan, Prome, and may be also at Thaton in Burma, and in Bengal, temples or models of temples from which the Ānanda might be easily evolved.

[1] "Archæological Survey of India Annual Report", 1907-08, pp. 34-35, Plate IX, *a* and *b* and fig. 2, p. 35.
[2] "Archæological Survey of India Annual Report", 1927-28, pp. 131-132, Plate LV.

However, all our written sources in Burmese on the Ānanda are unanimous in pitching upon the Nandamūla Cave in the Himalayas as its prototype, and they all state somewhat to the following effect :—

One day eight noble saints[1] stood for alms at the King's Palace. The king took their bowls and filled them with food, and asked, 'Whence come ye ?' and they said 'From Mount *Gandhamādana*'. Now, King Htilaingshin was full of faith, and he built and offered the saints a monastery for the rainy season. He invited them to the palace and fed them during the three months of rain. Once he entreated them to call up by their power the likeness of the Nandamūla grotto on Mt. Gandhamādana. They did so. And King Htilaingshin made a great gu[2] after the likeness of Nandamūla grotto, and called it Nanda.[3]

This, of course, is pure legend, this mountain belonging to the domain of fable[4]: but it serves to remind us that Htilaingshin (Kyanzitthā) was not unaware of the existence of temples in North-eastern India. This is borne out by a passage in his inscription No. VIII. Finding that the temple at Bodh-Gayā had fallen into ruins he " got (together) jewels of divers kinds (and) sent (them in) a ship with intent to build (*i.e.*, to repair) up the holy (temple) of Śrī Bajrās, to buy (land ?)... (to dig a tank ?), to irrigate (?) arable land, to make dams, in order to burn tapers that should never be allowed to go out, to present drums . . . . . .xylophones, singing (and) dancing, finer (than before ?). In that respect, too, no other king is like (him). Thereafter, the great buildings which Dharmmāsok built, which (were) old (and) in ruins, King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarājā proceeded to build anew (making them) finer than before "[5]. At the same time, it may be mentioned that recent excavations conducted by the Archæological Department at Paharpur in North Bengal have brought to light the remains of a temple, which could in all probability serve as an ultimate prototype of some of our temples, including the Ānanda at Pagan. Reports on these excavations and the remains of the temple uncovered have already appeared in the Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India for 1925-26, 1926-27 and 1927-28, to which a reference may be made[6]. But as I may have occasion to refer to that temple again, I may be allowed to give here, for the convenience of our readers, an extract from a brief account of it from the pen of its excavator, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

" The temple at (Paharpur) as it now stands, measures 361 feet in its extreme length from north to south and 318 feet in its extreme breadth from east to west. When first seen by Buchanan Hamilton 120 years ago, the mound was 100-150 feet in perpendicular height, but at present it is not more than 75 feet

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[1] This number eight is also mentioned in Kyanzitthā's Môn Inscription No. IX. But there it includes Shin Arahan and seven other monks who it is stated were brought by Shin Arahan for blessing the palace site. " Epigraphia Birmanica ", Vol. III, Part I, p. 135.

[2] A *gu*, literally " cave ", is a temple properly so called, in contradistinction to a stūpa, which is a solid mass.

[3] " The Glass Palace Chronicle ", p. 110.

[4] For an account in English of the Gandhamādana Mount and its marvels, see Spence Hardy's " Manual of Buddhism ", 2nd ed., p. 16.

[5] " Epigraphia Birmanica ", Vol. I, Part II, pp. 163-164.

[6] " Archæological Survey of India Annual Report ", 1925-26, 1926-27 and 1927-28, pp. 107-113, pp. 140-149 and pp. 101-111, respectively.

in height. Save for an additional projection on the north necessitated by the flight of stairs, the ground plan is symmetrical on all sides, being square in the centre with three projecting planes at right angles on each side. The height of the mound is made up by the 3 terraces in which the temple rises to the summit, access to the upper terraces being provided by a broad flight of stairs on the north. The first and second terraces have each a spacious verandah or circumambulatory passage for worshippers walking round the main shrine. At the second terrace level there are halls, or Maṇḍapas, with stone pillars and antechambers behind them at each of the cardinal points. The main shrine at the summit was probably a square chamber, with a verandah all round, but as nothing of what must have served as foundation is left, no hope of obtaining any details regarding the upper can be entertained; some openings with corbelled tops are to be seen in the middle of the North, West and South walls of the shrine, placed at a height of about 40 feet above the ground level, the only apparent use to which they could be put being the lighting of lamps to illumine the wonderful structure at night.

"The architectural plan of the Paharpur temple is of great interest. The paucity of extant temples of early Indian types in the Gangetic plain has made the task of the student of Indian architecture rather difficult. It has long been believed that the prototypes of the famous Borobudur Temple in Java, and the Burmese pagodas which rise in terraces one above the other, must be found somewhere in India, particularly in Bengal, which was the channel through which North Indian culture found opportunity for expansion further South-East. Paharpur Temple with its symmetrical plan, projecting angles between the sides, the rising terraces, the high walls decorated with sculptured niches, terra-cotta plaques and ornamented bands of cornices can well be considered as a type of early Indian Temple forming a valuable link that connected India with the more fully developed style of the monuments of Burma, Java and Cambodia.

"The most striking feature of the monument is the scheme of decoration of the walls of the basement and those flanking the circumambulatory passages. The walls are of fine-jointed masonry of well-burnt brick in mud. The plainness of the surface is relieved at intervals by projecting cornices of ornamental brick, bands of terra-cotta plaques set in panels, and stone sculptures at the corners and in recessed niches in the lower part of the basement. The high artistic level of the terra-cotta plaques and stone sculptures leaves no doubt as to their age, which cannot be far removed from the best period of Gupta art and must be relegated approximately to the 5th and 6th centuries after Christ.

"It seems quite clear that both Buddhism and Brahmanism were amply represented in the scheme of reconstruction and decoration adopted in the 5th or 6th centuries, when the present outline of the monument must have come into existence. A number of stucco heads and bronze images of the Buddha, and some seals inscribed with the creed of the Mahāyāna Buddhists belonging to this period have been recovered in the excavations. From the 9th century onwards, it seems plausible that the establishment was known as the great Vihāra of King Dharmapāla at Somapura, as several seals of the community of venerable monks

belonging to the Vihāra have been recovered. It is remarkable that a village called Ompur still stands within a mile of the locality and may possibly represent the Somapura of old. The reconstruction of the pillared halls on the second terrace, the repairs to some of the verandah walls and the provision of cloisters for the monks on a large scale probably marked the establishment of the Vihāra by the pious Pāla sovereign. Buddhism seems to have asserted itself hereafter as the prominent creed in the locality, and several donations of pillars made to the Lord Buddha and the Three Jewels (*viz.*, Buddha, his church and the community of Monks) in the 10th-11th century, besides a number of fragmentary though exquisite images of the late Pāla period, sufficiently testify to this view. The history of the monument seems to have terminated about the end of the 12th century A.D. probably as a result of the Muhammadan conquest, which put an end to all indigenous religious activity. Subsequently the place must have been gradually reduced to a mere heap of earth and brickbats, covered with thick jungle and brushwood, as it was found by the early British investigators of the nineteenth century and as it remained until finally taken over by the Archæological Survey ".

It may nevertheless be said that Pagan, about the time of Kyanzitthā, was in a fairly advanced state of civilization. It was a meeting ground for Pyu and Môn of Old Prome and Thaton respectively, two peoples in Burma which had already enjoyed an Indian civilization for not far from a millenium before it reached Pagan. It was also a place of *rendezvous* for Hindus, who were mostly Vaishnavas, from different parts of India, northern as well as southern. They were already in the employ of the country as astrologers and also as architects and craftsmen. This explains the state of advancement in architecture in the country and the wealth of details employed.

Ceylon was also in close relation with Pagan, and Buddhist monks from Burma visited Ceylon at the invitation of Vijayabāhu I (1059-1114 A.D.). There was a break in that relationship in the time of Parakkamabāhu (1153-1186), but that was soon patched up.[1]

The Môn were already in Old Siam where Tamils also were to be found about the VIIth-IXth century A.D., as is evidenced by a Môn Epigraph and a Tamil Inscription found there.[2] The Môn there had doubtless close relations with the Môn of Thaton, and it is conceivable that certain influences from that part of Indo-China also reached Pagan through them.

China in the north had been a formidable foe to Burma for many centuries, and although her great civilizing influence is not quite perceptible at Pagan

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[1] " The Culavaṁsa " (Translation) I, pp. 214-15 and II, pp. 64-70. The date assigned to Vijayabāhu I (1059-1114 A.D.) falls within the reigns of four kings of Pagan (Arimaddana), *viz.*, (1) Anoratha (Anuruddha) (1044-1077 A.D.), (2) Sawlu (1077-1084 A.D.), (3) Kyanzitthā (1084-1112 A.D.), and Alaungsithu (1112-1167 A.D.). On the assumption that Anoratha (Anuruddha) was crowned in the year 1010, basing himself on Phayre, the author says in n. 4, p. 214 of his translation that there are chronological difficulties about Anoratha's being a contemporary of Vijayabāhu I. For a more reliable date of Anoratha and of the three successive kings of Pagan see *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 4.

[2] " Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam ", Part II, pp. 17-19, Plate XIII, and pp. 49-50, Plate XX, B. E. F. E. O., Vol. XXX, Nos. 1-2, pp. 82-85, Plate VIII.

during the period now being dealt with it is recorded that Burmese envoys appeared at the Chinese Court in 1106 A.D.[1] It may be also mentioned that with Kyanzitthā's Môn inscriptions there was found a Chinese inscription near the Sarabha gate at Pagan. The stone is inscribed in Pyu on one side and in Chinese on the other, and although the much damaged condition of the writings has so far baffled our attempts to have them deciphered, it is a proof that the Chinese were at Pagan during a part of her historical period.[2] Thus various influences, indigenous and foreign, were brought together in the construction of the Ānanda. But in the case of China the influence, if any, was indirect, and through Nepal.

Architects employed in the building of the Ānanda.

There can be no doubt that the architects who planned and built the Ānanda were Indians. Everything in this temple from *śikhara* to basement, as well as the numerous stone sculptures found in its corridors and the terra-cotta plaques adorning its basement and terraces, bear the indubitable stamp of Indian genius and craftsmanship, except in one particular.[3] It may be here remarked, *en passant,* that from 1056-57 when, after the conquest of Thaton, the extraordinary architectural, sculptural and painting activity began in Pagan, to about the beginning of the XIIIth century, practically nothing is to be found that does not bear the stamp of Indian workmanship; this may be affirmed even of such early votive tablets which bear an inscription in old Burmese characters and the language of which is either Pāli or Burmese (these latter rather rare): everything on them but the inscription, is Indian.[4] In this sense, we may take it, therefore, that the Ānanda, though built in the Burmese capital, is an Indian temple.

A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE ĀNANDA.

Plan of the Ānanda.

The first serious notice of the temple is found in Yule's "Mission to the Court of Ava" (1855), pp. 37-41, and another much too short account is found in Fergusson's second volume of the "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture".[5] Since then the outstanding beauty and strength of the structure and the wonderful wealth of sculptures and terra-cotta plaques decorating its walls, which make it one of the most remarkable—if indeed not the most remarkable—

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[1] See Mr. Taw Sein Ko in "Reports of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma", for the years ending 31st March 1917 and 1918, pp. 33 and 12, respectively; but it is not at all certain that this mission was really sent. *Vide* Bulletin E. F. E. O., 1904, p. 157, note 3.

[2] It was also conjectured that this inscription belonged to the XIIIth century A.D. "Reports of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma", 1916, p. 20 and 1917, p. 25. See also G. E. Harvey's note on the same inscription at p. 337 of his "History of Burma".

[3] This one particular refers to short Môn legends on the terra-cotta plaques, which were inevitably composed by Môn monks. But on these very plaques, the figures themselves are unmistakeably Indian, in features, dress and other details, *Vide* "The plaques on the Ānanda Temple at Pagan".

[4] Exception must of course be made for lithic inscriptions in Burmese, Pāli and Môn.

[5] Pp. 360-361.

temples in Burma, have attracted the attention of orientalists, among whom particular mention may be made of the late General de Beylié.[1]

Placed in the centre of a spacious court surrounded by brick enclosure walls pierced with four large gateways at the cardinal points (Plate III), this monument of brick and plaster is perfect in its gracefulness and fine proportions (Plates IV-V).

The main temple consists of a square basement measuring 175 feet on each side, rising to a height of nearly 30 feet, its sides facing the cardinal points. It is surmounted by two receding roofs and four receding terraces crowned by a spire, the total height from the base to the top of the iron *hti* or umbrella being 172 feet.

A distinguishing feature of the Ānanda is its cruciform shape in plan. From the centre of each face of the basement there projects a large gabled porch like an arm of a large Greek cross. Each porch is 57 feet long, and if double this, to make up the length of the two porches, one on either side, be added to that of a side of the basement, we obtain nearly 290 feet as the entire length of the Ānanda each way.

Internally the building is remarkably massive and solid, the walls being of enormous thickness. In the centre, there is a huge cubical mass of brick-work in each side of which has been left a deep recess enshrining a colossal standing Buddha image. This cubical mass besides being the principal sanctuary of the temple with its four Buddha images facing the cardinal points, also acts as the mainstay of the building on which the greater part of the superstructure rests. Two circumambulatory and parallel corridors run round it covered over with lofty vaults and communicating with the deep recesses in the central block referred to above and the porches outside by transversal corridors. Each porch is divided into a nave and a row of side aisles by large brick columns (Plate VI).

Glazed terra-cotta plaques round the base of the Ānanda.

There are other noticeable features in the Ānanda. One of them is that the plinth round the main temple and porches is divided into base mouldings and cornices with a cresting of battlemented parapets (Plates V and XIII). The frieze or central space is set with small panels in which are embedded glazed terra-cotta plaques. One half of these plaques illustrates the monstrous hosts of Māra assaulting the Buddha seated under the Bodhi tree; the other half represents his apotheosis after the defeat of Māra, with hosts of heavenly beings crowding round the Master. At the bottom of each plaque is a short legend explaining, in the case of Māra's warriors, the nature of the warriors, and in certain cases that of the mount of its hideous rider; in the case of the heavenly hosts, the legends give the name of each deva, or describe the nature of the objects held by them.[2] It is worthy of note that these legends are in the language of the Môn, whose capital, Thaton, had been sacked by King Anoratha, a little more than three decades previous to the date of the foundation of the Ānanda

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[1] General de Beylié, " L'Architecture Hindoue en Extreme-Orient ", pp. 263-271.

[2] See also B. E. F. E. O., Vol. XI, pp. 1-5.

(1090). The Burmese alphabet, designed on the basis of that of the Môn, came into existence soon after the conquest of Thaton. This influence exercised over the conquerors by the higher culture of the conquered may perhaps have extended also to some architectural details.

Other noticeable features in the Ānanda.

At every corner of the plinth there is a figure of a double-bodied lion seated on its hind legs on a low pedestal projecting from the main building. This was derived from India (*cf.* Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1911-12, p. 162, and Plate LXXV) but probably through the Môn: the Burmese tradition being that such figures, as well as those of a two-bodied lion with a human head (Manussīha), were introduced into Pagan from Thaton.

The wall above the plinth of the basement rises to a height of 30 feet. It is ornamented with pilasters and capitals, and with frieze and cornice mouldings; the latter are crowned, as in the case of the plinth, with a battlemented parapet. In each battlement was sunk, originally, a green enamelled plaque, many an example of which may still be noticed on the battlements round the plinth. Most of the plaques on the wall have, however, disappeared, or have been covered over with many coatings of whitewash. The two tiers of window-openings flanked by pilasters piercing the wall are prominent features. The latter stand out from the surface of the wall, and in the case of the lower tier, each set of pilasters rests on a portion of the plinth which is broken here and made to project beyond the main one. A cusped arch, pointed in form, springing from the pilasters just referred to and surmounted by flamboyant ornaments, is thrown over each opening. This arch supported by the pilasters underneath has, of course, no constructional value and is only ornamental; there is no proper bond between it and the wall on which it is applied, and it often hides from view the true nature of the arch which is further inside. Here, the wall is 13′ 9″ in thickness, and the arch over the main opening is, for a depth of 2′ 3″, a flat one, while the remaining portion, 11′ 6″ in depth, is taken up by a pointed arch. The thick coating of plaster with which these arches have frequently been covered does not allow one to ascertain their nature; but from the many examples that may be seen in other temples at Pagan, they were probably constructed with wedge-shaped bricks moulded in the form of voussoirs of a radiating arch. It may also be mentioned that in Burma flat arches have very often relieving arches built over them.

Series of stone sculptures in the Ānanda.

Inside, the wall is honeycombed with niches arranged in four tiers. In the two lower tiers are placed stone reliefs illustrating the principal episodes in the Buddha's life. The series opens with a scene in the Tushita heaven where the Bodhisattva Śvetaketu accedes to the request of the devas that he should be reborn on earth as a Buddha, and ends with the representation of his temptation by Māra's daughters and attainment of Buddhahood. These reliefs number eighty in all, and below each of them a short explanatory label

in Burmese painted on a wooden board has been in recent years attached by a devout Buddhist.[1] A frieze with deep mouldings separates these from the next two tiers of niches above; the latter enshrine images of the Buddha, in stone, seated cross-legged in the usual earth-touching *mudrā* or attitude. Besides the niches just mentioned, there are other smaller ones, one in each jamb of the window openings, also containing stone reliefs, some of which illustrate scenes from the anterior lives of the Buddha.

Working inwards from the outer wall just referred to, and separated from it by a passage 8 feet in width, there rises another wall with window openings in line with those on the outside. Unlike the outer wall, which has rows of niches only in the inner face, this wall contains no less than seven tiers of niches on either face. The Buddhas enshrined in the niches are of two types: one seated on a throne in the act of preaching with the hands brought up before the breast, and the other in the common earth-touching attitude. It is this series of sculptures that have made the Ānanda so famous as the greatest storehouse of stone sculptures in Burma. It would have been still more remarkable, had the variety of sculptures been proportionate to the enormous quantity.

Four colossal images of Buddha.

The next circumambulatory corridor, which separates the inner wall from the cube in the centre, measures 7′ 4″ across, and the cube itself measures 82′ 9″ on each side, with an internal height of 52 feet. In each of the four faces of the latter is a deep and high recess, each facing the cross passage connecting the circumambulatory corridors with the porch outside, and each containing a colossal standing Buddha image 31 feet in height above the throne, which itself is nearly 8 feet in height above the floor level. These four colossal images on the North, East, South and West represent respectively the four Buddhas of the present cycle, who have already appeared and entered Nirvāṇa, *viz.*, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama. Of these only two, namely, those on the north and the south, are the original ones contemporary with the foundation of the temple; those on the east and west were added later to replace the original ones which had been destroyed. Tradition had it that the Buddhas on the north, east and south were originally carved out of different kinds of wood, *viz.*, Champaka and sandalwood, and that that on the west was made of an alloy composed of five different metals. That on the east is supposed to have been destroyed by fire, while the metal image on the west is said to have disappeared mysteriously (which probably means that the mode of its disappearance has long been forgotten), their place being taken by new images in wood, probably teak wood. Two of those Buddhas, those on the north and the south, as they now stand, are illustrated in Plate VII, figs. 1 and 2. Both have their hands raised to the breast in the *dharmachakra mudrā*. The glass mosaic work on the wall at the back of the image on the north side, and the canopies above their heads are recent additions.

[1] See Chas. Duroiselle's "The Stone Sculptures in the Ānanda Temple at Pagan", *Archæological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1913-14, pp. 63-97.

Stone portraits of King Kyanzitthā and his preceptor Shin Arahan.

Disposed in smaller niches in the side walls of the large recesses are stone images of Buddha and his disciples; the latter are placed a few feet above the base of the walls, on a level with the pedestal on which the central statue is resting, and are in the attitude of worshipping the main figure. Two niches, one on each side of the figure of Gotama on the west face, contain the stone images, probably copied from the life of King Kyanzitthā, the founder of the Ānanda temple, and of Shin Arahan, a Buddhist monk from Thaton, who was instrumental in introducing the Theravāda School of Buddhism into Pagan. The former is on the left of the Buddha and the latter on the right (Plate VII, figs. 3 and 4). Kyanzitthā has the usual royal ornaments, *viz.*, a crown, a necklace or breast-plate and anklets. His dress consists of a close-fitting jacket and a lower garment of which the folds are clearly discernible. Shin Arahan is distinguishable by his clean-shaven head and the lack of ornaments.

Buddhapāds.

The entrance to each of these large recesses or niches is barred with a wooden railing provided with a small wooden door. (Plate VIII, fig. 2.) In the porch on the west face there are two Buddha-pāds (Buddha's foot-prints) placed on a pedestal. Each foot-print bears the traditional 108 marks as enumerated in some of the Pāli commentaries,[1] but owing to the gilding and wearing away due to constant washing, some of these marks have disappeared and cannot be properly identified. They are divided into small panels, and the marks on one foot-print are identical with those on the other. It may, however, be of some interest to note here that the mark for *śrīvatśa* is a flower-bud conical in shape and that for *śvastika* is altogether absent, a spiral-shaped object having taken its place. In a fragment of a foot-print which was originally found at the Lokananda pagoda, and now preserved in the Museum, Pagan, and which may be considered as almost contemporary with those in the Ānanda, the emblem for the Sun is marked by something like the figure of a horse at full-gallop, while its place has been taken up, in the later ones, by the figure of a peacock, the national emblem of the Burmese.

Images of Buddha, etc., inside the porches.

The walls of the four porches are treated in the same manner as those of the main building. The two side walls are pierced with subsidiary door-openings and in the walls flanking the main entrance are to be seen window-openings, which are ornamented with pilasters and cusped arches of the same design as those already noticed above, projecting from the surface of the wall. Inside, there are niches containing stone images of the Buddha and stone reliefs illustrating scenes from his life.

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[1] For a list of some of these marks, see Spence Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism", pp. 381-382. A full list of them may be found in "Samantabaddikā Aṭṭhakathā" and "Jinālankāraṭīkā". See also M. L. Foûrnereau's "Le Siam ancien", pp. 287-309.

Each entrance to the main building is provided with a wooden door consisting of two leaves, and is guarded by two *dvārapālas*, one on each side, standing on low pedestals. Each leaf of the door swings on the lower end of the inner style, which is made to work in a stone socket buried in the flooring beneath, the upper end of the style being secured by an iron ring built into the jamb.

Of the existing doors none seems to be original. In Plate VIII, fig. 1, is illustrated a leaf of the door found at the south entrance. It is practically a lattice door, the cross-pieces being nailed on to the framework, which is partly hidden from view by a covering of carved woodwork of fine workmanship. The design in the carving consists of a trail pattern within a border of leaf moulding. A mythical figure, a horned lion carved in relief, forms part of the arched head of the door.

Both the *dvārapālas* were of plaster work, but the hands are of wood and subsequently added. The dress and ornaments were partly of stucco and partly painted, and as such they are subject to renewal from time to time. But it may be mentioned that the original model was adhered to as much as possible. One hand of each figure is raised in the *abhaya mudrā* and the other hand is pointing to the entrance. A nimbus in the form of a lotus-leaf with an ornamental border may be seen above the head of each figure. It is stuccoed on the wall at the back (Plate IX). The entrance to each porch is guarded, on the outside, by another set of *dvārapālas*, seated on pedestals in arched niches crowned with miniature spires (Plate X).

Arched vaults over porches, corridors, etc.

The porches, corridors, and four great recesses in the central block are covered with vaults containing pointed or semi-pointed arches. Each recess in the central block is roofed over with a pointed vault with gable ends, the arches springing from a point 35′ 5″ above the floor level with a span of 18 feet. A small opening with a similar pointed arch turned over it is cut in the outer gable, so as to admit light coming in through a dormer-window above to the corridors and recesses below. The coverings over the circumambulatory corridors are semi-pointed vaults strengthened at the corners and entrances with flying buttresses resting on pointed arches, while the four passages leading from the porches to the sanctum or central pile have pointed vaults over them. The naves of the porches are roofed over with pointed vaults, with the arches having each a span of 22′·8″ and a rise of 24 feet. The side aisles have semi-pointed vaults.

The external effect of the Ānanda is as imposing as the internal details are of absorbing interest, making it the most interesting monument in Burma. The superimposed roofs and terraces, receding as they rise towards the spire, give the main shrine a pyramidal form; and the numerous subsidiary ringed pagodas and *śikharas* rising pretty high over the arched roofs of the porches, at the corners of the two roofs as well as of the first terrace above them, ranged round the main spire or *Śikhara* itself surmounted by a high ringed pagoda in place of

an *Amalaka*, give the Ānanda that touch of lightness, slenderness, and grace, which is the admiration of all visitors; the large vestibules with their characteristic arched openings and pediments, casting deep shadows around the building, add greatly to its awe and grandeur.

Ogee roofs.

There are two ogee roofs over the two inner circumambulatory corridors, the terraces proper, four in number, rising above them. These two roofs and the first terrace above them are practically square in plan, with a miniature *Śikhara* or ringed pagoda standing at each outer corner. The two roofs are broken at the centre by large projecting dormer-windows which were built in simulation of the porches underneath. The dormer-windows in the second roof have each two side-openings. It is through these openings that the colossal Buddhas in the central pile within are lit up, a contrivance which reminds one of the mode of lighting through the arched window-openings adopted in some of the cave temples in India.

In section, these two roofs have each a curvilinear outline in the form of an ogee (Plate XI), while the first terrace above them is flat. These ogee roofs have their prototypes in those of the chaitya-halls and rock-cut temples in India, and forms very similar to them may also be noticed in the bas-reliefs found in Sinhalese and Javanese monuments. In Pagan itself, many other buildings have the same form of roof, the most important among them being the Nagayon and Abeyadana temples, the Pitakataik or Library, and the Dhammayangyi temple.

Glazed terra-cotta plaques in the walls round the terraces.

The parapet and revetment walls of these roofs and terraces are ornamented in the same way as the plinth already described above. There is a base and a cornice to each revetment wall, which is in the form of an entablature. The central space or frieze is ornamented with small niches containing glazed terra-cotta plaques. These numerous plaques illustrate the *Jātaka*[1] or anterior lives of the Buddha; they may be divided into two series; the first series, in which one *Jātaka* is assigned to each plaque, illustrates the previous existences of the Buddha up to and exclusive of the Mahānipāta or last ten existences of the Bodhisattva before he became a Buddha; the second series illustrates, in 389 plaques, the principal episodes in these last ten great *Jātakas*: each of the plaques in this second series is numbered consecutively and contains a short legend in Môn, explanatory of the scene represented. The plaques of the first series are similarly numbered and are inscribed with the name of the *Jātaka* they illustrate; these names and numbers agree with those of the Sinhalese Pāli recension. This vast collection of plaques on a single building is, as far as it has been possible to ascertain, unique in the whole of the Buddhist world.[1]

[1] See Chas. Duroiselle's "The Talaing plaques on the Ānanda", *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. II, Parts I and II.

Absence of main stairs in the thickness of walls in the Ānanda.

In the case of most other temples at Pagan there are stairs in the thickness of walls, leading up on to the roofs and terraces above; but no such stairs have been provided in the Ānanda. There is a stair in the wall of the basement on the east face, but it only leads up to a window in the upper tier. There are, however, short and narrow stairs with arched gateways provided in the three upper terraces.

The main śikhara over the temple.

The latter are square on plan but adorned with recessed corners following the plan of the *śikhara* above. At each extreme corner of the terraces, is the figure of a seated lion; and four *devas* guard the *śikhara* one at each corner of its base. The *śikhara* itself, with its bulging sides, has seven projectional planes with eight projecting angles on each face. The central plane is a vertical fillet with five tiers of foliated niches, each enshrining a seated Buddha[1]; the three planes on each side being ornamented with deep mouldings and a little apex at the projecting angle of each (Plate XII, fig. 1 and Plate XI). The *śikhara* is surmounted by a ringed stūpa of elongated and slender shape crowned with an iron *hti*, which, in Burma, has generally displaced the *Amalaka* as finial.

Arched gateways.

As has been noticed above, the building is placed in the centre of a court-yard surrounded by four massive brick walls nearly nine feet thick, each wall being pierced by a gateway surmounted by a domed arch crowned by a stūpa (Plate XII, fig. 2). The soffit of the arch measures 26′ 3″ in height above the floor level, the stūpa itself being 22 feet in height from the soffit.

Under each dome there are niches left in the side walls, one on each side. Each of them holds a *dvārapāla* seated in the *sukhāsana* posture on a low pedestal. Plate XIV, fig. 1, shows one of them. His right hand is resting on the right knee, while his left hand is placed against his breast and holds a fly-whisk. He wears a crown, a necklace, armlets and bracelets.

The Universal use of pointed arch in the radiating form in the temples at Pagan.

A striking peculiarity of the temples at Pagan is the universal use of the pointed arch in the radiating form, over almost every opening and in every vaulted covering of the corridors. Among the earlier examples at Old Prome, the arches over the corridors and door-openings are almost semi-circular while the dome over the sanctum is pointed. Thus, in the Lemyethnā temple at Hmawzā (Old Prome), the arches are semi-circular while the dome over the sanctum of the Bébé temple at the same place is pointed. Both the arches and the dome were built on the principle of the true arch, and the bricks, in the radiating form of voussoirs, were laid edge to edge instead of face to face.

[1] The Buddhas here represent the four past Buddhas and Maitreya, the coming one.

Arches and vaults built in the same fashion were met with in the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā in India; but as General Cunningham has pointed out, they may not have formed part of the original construction.[1] However, proofs are not wanting to show that the Hindus of the Gupta period at least knew the use of arches constructed with radiating voussoirs; and Burma, whose civilization, as witnessed in its religion, art and culture, was altogether derived from India, and whose architecture with local variation in details contributed by the genius of its people is essentially of Indian origin, could not certainly have learnt the art of arch-construction elsewhere than in India. On this point, R. B. Dayaram Sahni of the Archæological Survey of India writes as follows: "The only examples of the true arch noticed in the Pre-Muhammadan, Hindu and Buddhist monuments in the Northern Circle are those in the brick temple at Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore District, where the passages connecting the cells and the now extinct anteroom are roofed with semi-circular vaults, and the two rooms themselves with pointed domes. It should be noted, however, that the bricks in these domes are laid as stretchers, end to end, and not face to face, as is usually the case with Muhammadan domes.[2] This is also the principle on which the roofs of the brick imitations of rock-cut caves unearthed by Dr. Spooner at Nalanda are constructed.[3] Arches that appear to be constructed of regular radiating voussoirs occur in the semicircular panels on the exterior of the Bhitargaon temple, though I have not myself seen the originals. These arches are, however, enclosed in others constructed of projecting horizontal courses to support the super-imposed masonry * * * *. This combination of the voussoir arch with the horizontal type is interesting as showing that the Hindus in the Gupta period used the true arch, though with much hesitancy * * * *". General Cunningham seems to be of the same opinion; he says—"Formerly, it was the settled belief of European enquirers, that the ancient Hindus were ignorant of the arch. This belief no doubt arose from the total absence of arches in any of the Hindu temples. Thirty years ago I shared this belief with Mr. Fergusson, when I argued that the presence of arches in the great Buddhist temple at Bodh-Gayā proved that the building could not have been erected before the Muhammadan conquest. But during my late employment in the Archæological Survey of India several buildings of undoubted antiquity were discovered in which both vaults and arches formed part of the original construction".[1] Mr. H. Cousens found a true arch in a shrine on the west face of the Buddhist stūpa at Mirpur-Khas in Sind.[4]

Ornamental arches.

The arches in Burma are invariably enclosed in frame-works exhibiting several feathered foliations, and surmounted by flamboyant ornaments. In the

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[1] Cunningham's "Mahabodhi", App. A, p. 85.

[2] *Cf.* Director General of Archæology's Report, Part II for 1908-09, p. 8.

[3] See Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 1916-17, pp. 44-45.

[4] Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report 1909-10, p. 83. See also p. 73 and note 4 on the same page of A. K. Coomaraswamy's "History of Indian and Indonesian Art".

case of large doorways forming main entrances, these ornamental arches are generally surmounted by pediments supported on either side by half-pediments at a low level, and adorned with arches and half arches of similar character. The latter class of arches rest on pilasters with bases and capitals, and at the springing of each there is often the head or forepart of a *Makara* with its trunk upturned, which, in some cases, has been so conventionalized as to be barely recognizable.

Plate XIII shows the façade of the west porch of the Ānanda temple. It consists of a fronton and two half frontons. The main arch over the entrance is pointed and divided into three planes, and the ornamental arch above it has six foils. The forepart of a *Makara*[1] consisting of the head with its gaping jaws and a foreleg, may be seen resting on the capital of the pilaster underneath, and a lion is emerging from its jaws. A leaf ornament curling upwards is seen issuing from the mouth of the lion.[2] Below the intrados of the first foil of the cusped arch and at the back of the *Makara*, is a deva resting partially on the capital of the pilaster, with his hands raised before the breast in the attitude of adoration; his legs are in the traditional pose of a deva flying through the air.

The flamboyant ornaments are often plain, each having only a studded border, but they are sometimes worked into an intricate leaf-design and in some cases a deva is seen seated in the centre of the uppermost one (Plate XIV, fig. 2). Sometimes a *Kinnara* is introduced standing on the capital of the pilaster near the springing of the arch (Plate XIV, fig. 4).

The pediments and half-pediments are ornamented in the same manner as the cusped arch underneath. Those in the façades of the Ānanda are backed by a row of lions seated on pedestals and rising in gradation with their faces turned away from a central stūpa which crowns the summit of one end of the roof.

The *Makara* resting on the pilasters flanking the smaller openings are often barely recognizable in their stylized forms. Those on the window-openings of the façades of the porches of the Ānanda have been elaborated (or simplified) into volutes, but viewed in combination with the flamboyant ornaments above each, the outline of the monster becomes quite evident (Plate XIV, fig. 3).

Conclusion.

Now, with the details of the Ānanda before us, we may describe briefly its two outstanding features as follows: First—A square basement with a project-

[1] See also Plate X.

[2] This motif of a lion issuing from the mouth of a *Makara* is a feature of not very common occurrence in Buddhist Iconography. A representation closely resembling it is seen at one end of an architectural fragment shown as fig. 14 in M. Lunet de la Jonquière's "Le Domaine archæologique du Siam".

It is seen also as a motif of decoration at the Dodda Basavanna temple at Dambal Bharwar District, which belongs to the XIth century, and is Chalukyan; "Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1903-04", Plate LXV, fig. 14.

Reference may also be made to A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar's interesting note on "A few Makara-Toranas from South Travancore"—*Rūpam*, No. 26, pp. 40-45.

ing porch in the middle of each side, which gives it the form of a Greek cross; the interior consists of an enormous central pile, which is the sanctum proper with one huge Buddha in each of its four faces; and this pile is surrounded by two circumambulatory half-vaulted corridors, each covered over by a roof which follows the shape of the vault below, that is, these two roofs are ogee in form.

Second—Beyond these roofs and resting directly on the central pile below, there are four receding narrow terraces (not storeys), surmounted by a *śikhara* with bulging sides on which is superimposed instead of the *Amalaka* so common in India—a stūpa consisting of an elongated bell-shaped dome crowned by a tapering ringed finial which is, as is well known, only the succedanea of the Chattrāvāli of old Indian stūpas; this kind of stūpa, which, with slight difference as to unimportant details, and resting on three, four and five terraces, became very common in Pagan and the whole of Burma, is still built now-a-days.

Several other imposing temples such as the Thatpyinnyu, Shwegugyi, Gawdawpalin, Sulamani, etc., have, with variations imposed by their general plan, features in common with the Ānanda, such as internal parallel corridors, narrow terraces in varying numbers from the uppermost of which springs the *śikhara* surmounted by a conical stūpa; but they all differ in this, that the Ānanda consists of a basement with ogee roofs, whilst the others have one or more storeys or superimposed sanctums between the basement and the crowning *śikhara*. These are also later and were founded after the Ānanda, but they follow one another in quick succession.

Have we then, from the absence of monuments older than it and reproducing pretty exactly the same features, to come to the conclusion that the Ānanda, unique amongst the temples of the old Burmese capital, was conceived and built, perfect in its plan and all its architectural details, without any model or models, whether in Pagan itself or elsewhere, from which the architects could copy and borrow? This question remained for long a puzzle to Orientalists, and Sir Henry Yule remarks as follows:—

"Enough has been made out, I think, to show that all, or nearly all, the details of work at Pagan must have had an Indian origin. But this is far from removing the perplexity connected with the origin of these buildings. Grant that all details were borrowed from India. But where shall we find in India any model of the composition? Where anything approaching the classical beauty of the Sem-byo-koo,[1] or the stupendous architectural majesty of the Thatpyinnyu and the Ānanda?"[2]

On the other hand, M. H. Parmentier, the eminent archæologist of the Ecole Française at Hanoi, expresses the opinion that were it not for the *śikhara*, the connection of the Pagan temples with Indian art is not at all evident. Speaking of the Pagan temples he says—"There seems to be in Burma in these strange accumulations of materials a confusion between the stūpa or even its terraces, and the building itself, whether temple or convent. Thus there is no relation, but rather contrast even, between the external aspect which seems to indicate

[1] Sin-bya-ku temple.

[2] Yule's "Mission to the Court of Ava", p. 47.

merely simple walls strengthened with pilasters at their angles, covered with a light terrace as in Ceylon and pierced with bays whose pediments are decorated with flamboyant ornaments, and the enormous massiveness of the interior. It looks like an independent ornament applied on to a cube of solid masonry. Here, the relation or filiation with the art of India is not evident, and if it were not for the presence of the *śikhara*, it could not at all be predicated. It implies the anterior existence—either in the country itself or in the country of origin—of a massive architecture which has disappeared without leaving any trace behind it".[1] These questions may be best answered as follows :—

As is already known the *śikhara* surmounting the Ānanda is of Indo-Aryan type and points to Northern India as the country it was derived from.

Again the stūpa crowning a *śikhara* is an old Indian architectural motif as may be inferred from the Kumarahar terra-cotta plaque of the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, shown as fig. 2 in the plate facing page 43 of "Rūpaṁ", No. 10. It is believed to be a copy of the Bodh-Gayā temple, and is said to belong to about the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Here the *śikhara* is surmounted by a stūpa of much older type, consisting of a dome crowned by a *tee* shaded by discs or umbrellas, which eventually degenerated into the many-ringed finial, familiar from the Burmese examples. When we come down the stream of time, we meet, about the 10th-12th century A.D., with a later development of the same motif, as may be noticed in the stone sculptures from Bengal and Old Prome, and terra-cotta votive tablets of Anoratha, etc., mentioned in the introduction.

The cruciform shape in plan, the enormous central pile and circumambulatory corridors of the Ānanda may also be traced, as their ultimate origin, to the temples in Bengal, as exemplified by the Paharpur temple. The mode of ornamenting the frieze or central space between the base mouldings and cornices of the plinth of the Ānanda is also met with at Paharpur. Here again, a later development in respect of the former is discernible in the Lemyethnā temple (about 10th century A.D.) at Old Prome and the Patothamya temple (11th century A.D.) at Pagan. The Lemyethnā consists of a cube in the centre with a vaulted corridor running round it. The basement which is square in plan is pierced by four doorways, each preceded by a small porch of which only remains are now visible, towards the cardinal points. The walls of the cube run up through the roof and form the sides of the terrace above. The same, or nearly the same, features are met with in the Patothamya. Here, round the terrace above the basement, there are four small shrines with vaulted roofs projecting from the main shrine, one on each side.

That is to say, the Ānanda was not altogether devoid of a model or models to copy from either in Burma or in India, particularly Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But it needed the religious fervour of a king like Kyanzitthā, a skill like that of his Hindu architects, and a collaboration between laymen and monks such as was to be met with at his time, to produce a temple of the Ānanda type.

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[1] H. Parmentier, in a very suggestive paper "Origine Commune des architectures hindoues dans l' Inde et en Extreme-Orient" in Etudes Asiatiques publiées a l'Occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient, 1925, Vol. II, p. 226.

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MGIPC—M—III-9-53—18-12-37—320.

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.

1. Terra-cotta votive tablet of Anoratha.

2. Terra-cotta votive tablet of Anoratha.

3. Terra-cotta plaque (a fragment) of Anoratha.

4. Terra-cotta votive tablet of a queen of Anoratha.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

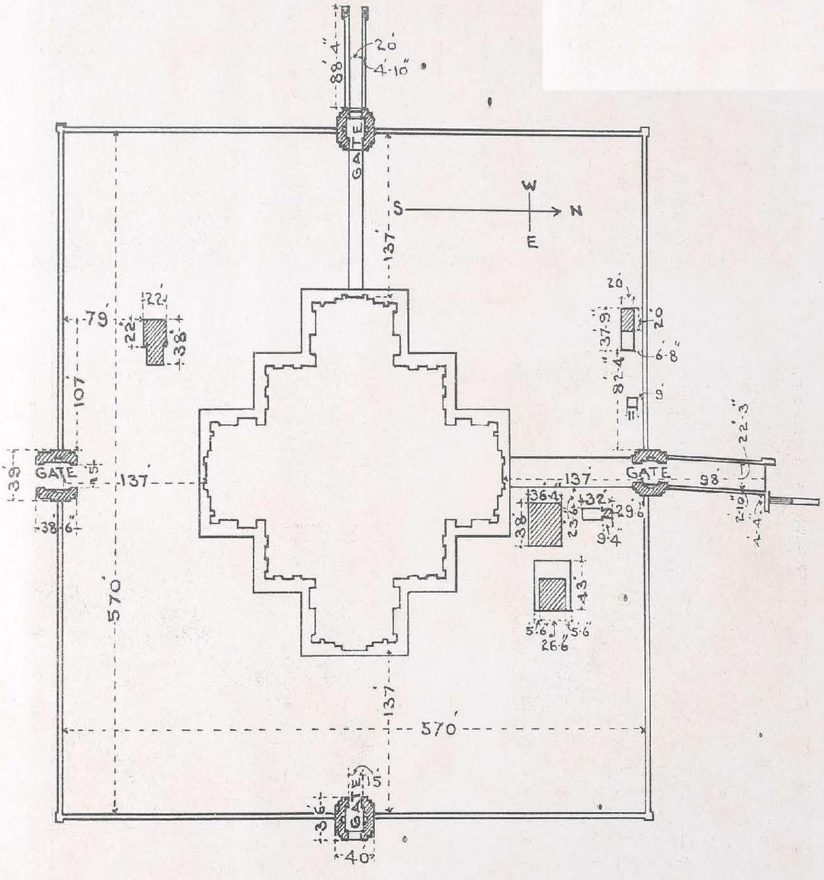
ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.

1. Nanpaya Temple, Myinpagan, Pagan.

2. A stone sculpture found at Old Prome.

3. A terra-cotta votive tablet found at Old Prome.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



Site plan of Ananda Temple, Pagan.

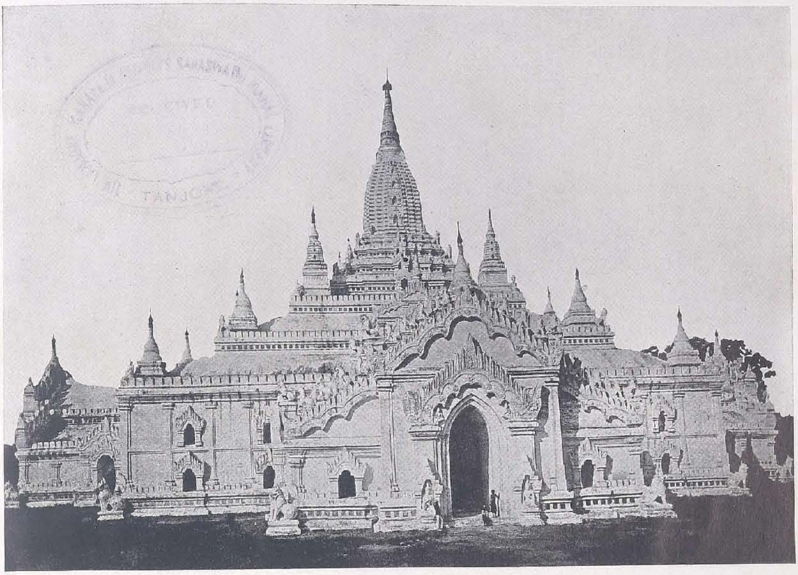
PLATE IV.

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.

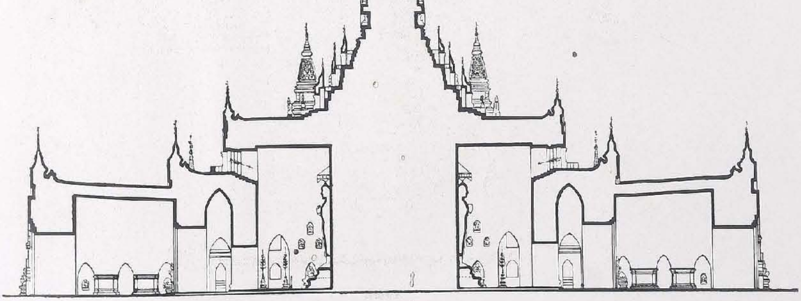
South-east view.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.



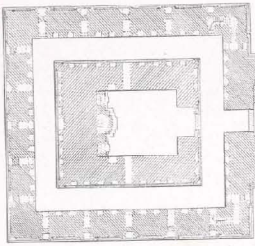
1. South View.



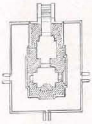
2. Section.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

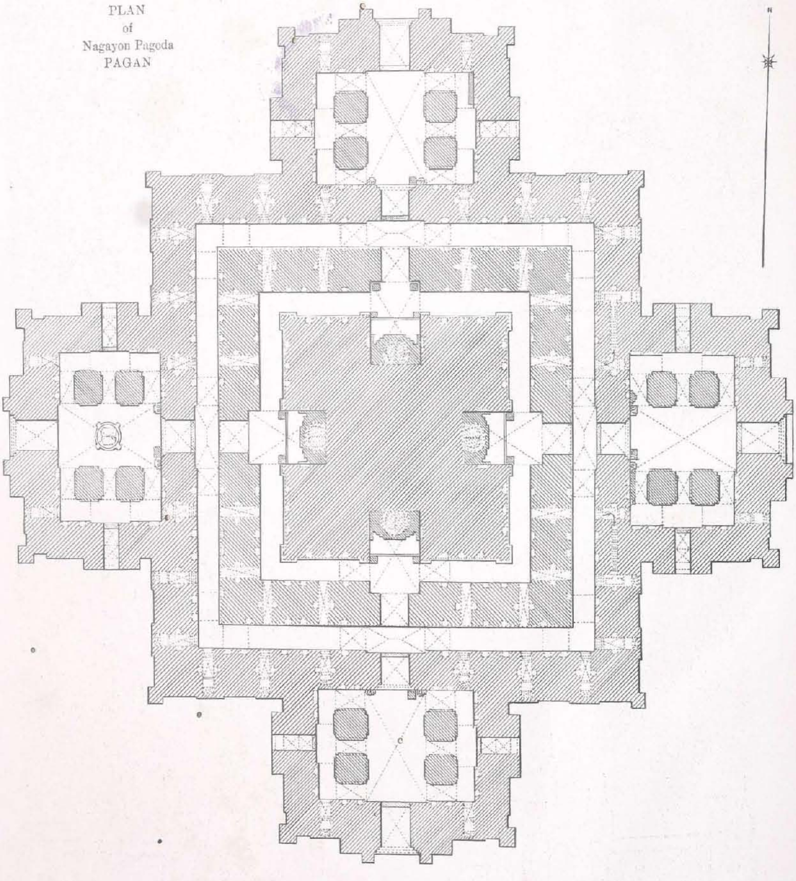
PLATE VI.



PLAN
of
Nandagyi Pagoda
PAGAN



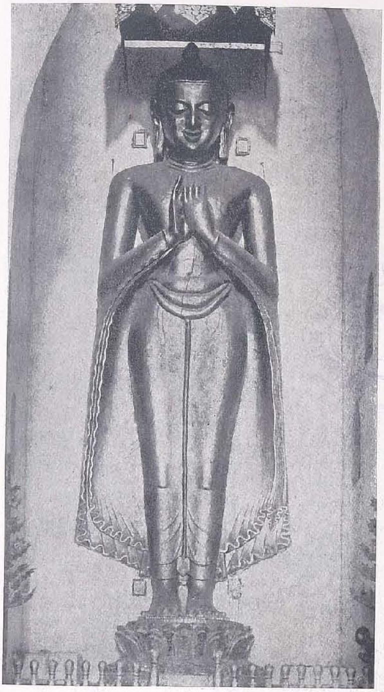
PLAN
of
Nagayon Pagoda
PAGAN



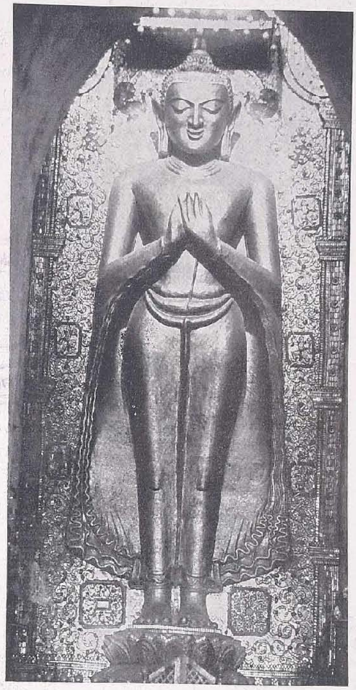
SCALE OF 20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100 FEET,

PLAN
of
Ananda Pagoda
PAGAN

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.



1. Buddha on the south face of central block.



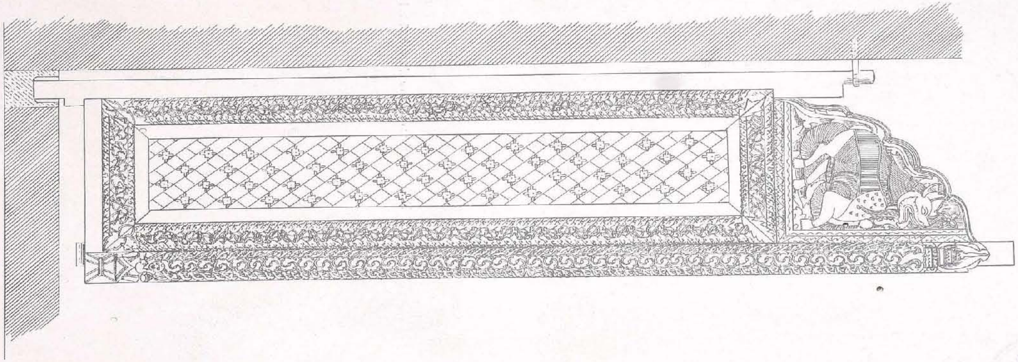
2. Buddha on the north face of central block.

3. King Kyanzittha.

4. Shin Arahan.

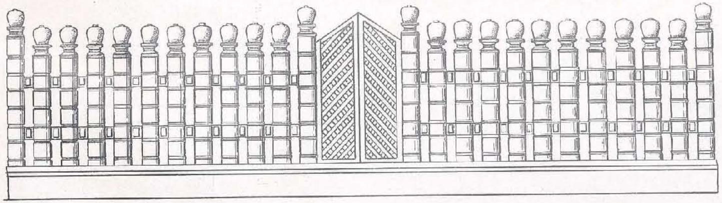
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.



Scale 8 feet = 1 inch.

1. A leaf of wooden door at the south entrance.



2. Wooden railing in front of the throne of the Buddha on the south.

TANJORE

PLATE IX.

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.

1.

2.

1., 2. Dvarapalas.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL LIBRARY, TANJORE. 16 FEB 1966

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.

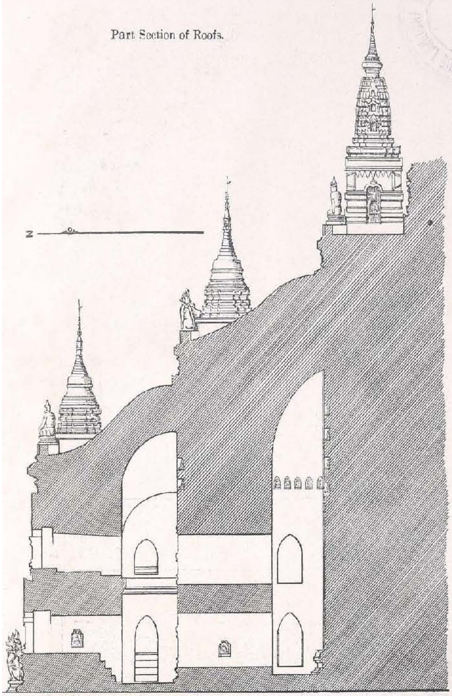
South Porch.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

RECEIVED ... TANJORE

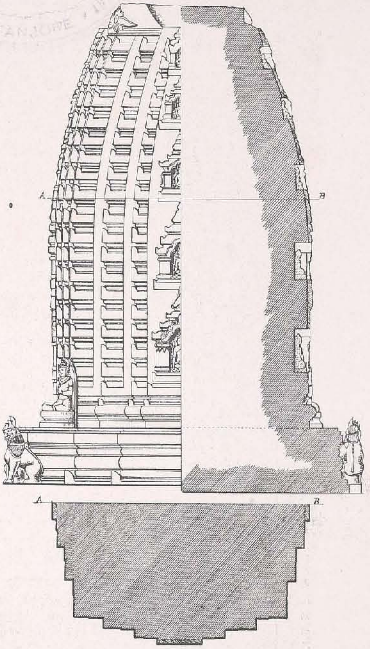
TANJORE

Part Section of Roofs.

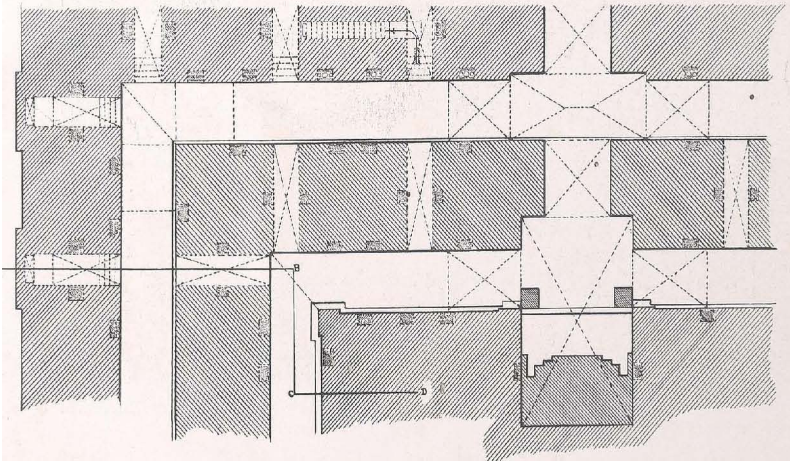


SCALE OF 10 0 10 20 30 FEET.

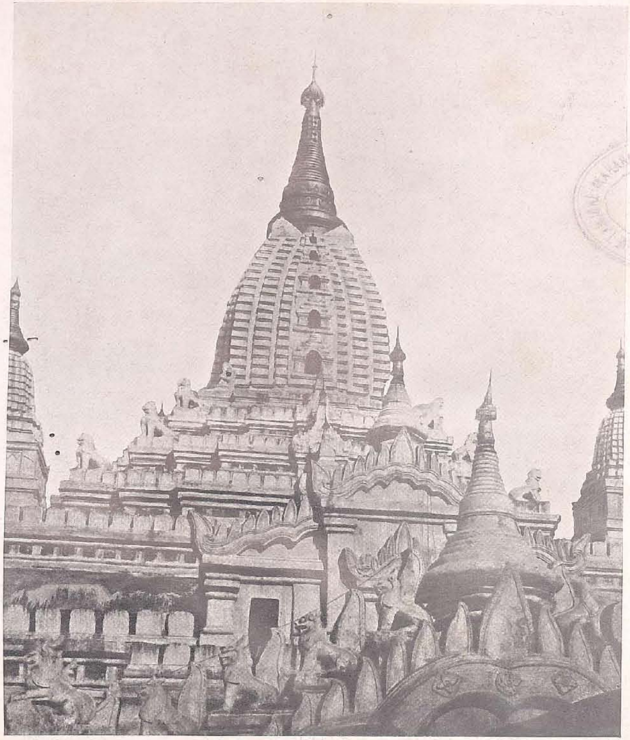
SIKHARA



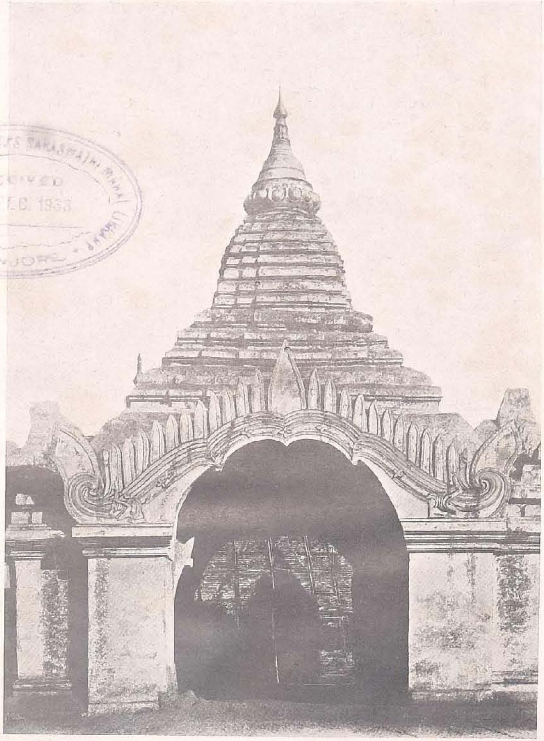
SCALE OF 5 0 5 10 15 20 FEET.



ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.



1. The Sikhara and crowning stupa.

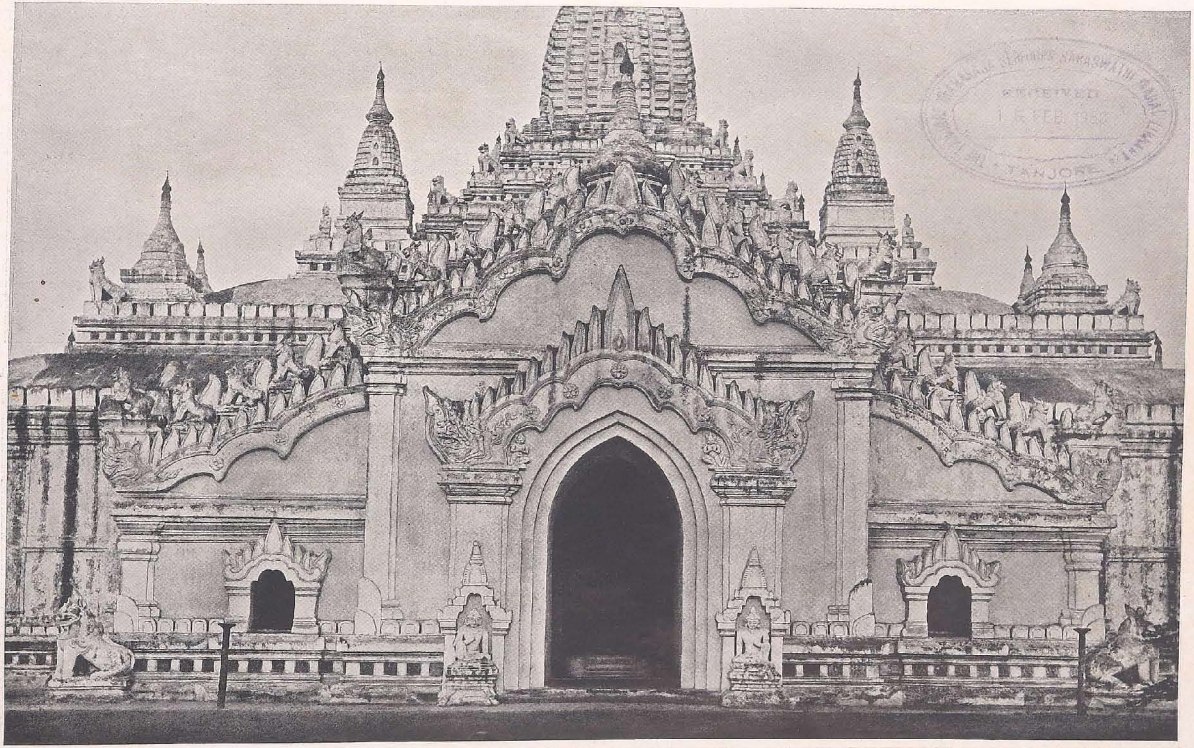


2. A gateway.

THANJAVUR MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATHI MAHAL LIBRARY · TANJORE
RECEIVED 16 FEB 1933

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.



West porch.

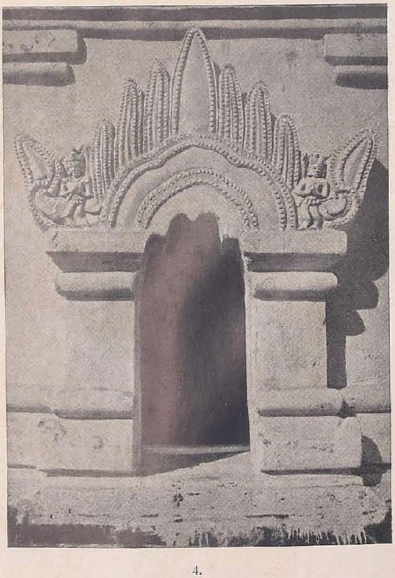
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

ANANDA TEMPLE, PAGAN.

1.

2.

3.



4.

1. A dvarapala inside a gateway.

2.
3. } Ornamental arches over window-openings.
4.